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Gloria Moorman

ATLASES FIT FOR A FUTURE KING: VITTORIO AMADEO II, MASTER-COLOURIST DIRK JANSZ. VAN SANTEN AND THE SPLENDOUR OF THE *THEATRUM SABAUDIAE* (1682)

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Rivista di Storia del Libro e di Bibliografia
2020/3 (CXXII)
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A cura di Luca Rivali

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BMC = *Catalogue of books printed in the XV^th century now in the British Museum*, 13 voll., London, The Trustees of the British Museum, 1908-2007.

Bod-Inc. = *A catalogue of books printed in the fifteenth century now in the Bodleian Library*, by Alan Coates *et alii*, 6 voll., Oxford, University Press, 2005.

BSB Ink = *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Inkunabelkatalog*, 7 voll., Wiesbaden, L. Reichert, 1988-2009.

C = Walter A. Copinger, *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium bibliographicum*, 4 voll., London, H. Sotheran and Co., 1895-1902 (Berlin, J. Altmann, 1926).

CIBN = *Catalogue des incunables*, 2 volumi in 8 tomi, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1981-2014.

CLIO = *Catalogo dei libri italiani dell'Ottocento (1801-1900)*, 19 voll., Milano, Editrice Bibliografica, 1991.

DBI = *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 100 voll., Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960-2020.

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Goff = *Incunabula in American Libraries. A third census of fifteenth-century Books recorded in North American Collections*, reproduced from the annotated copy maintained by F.R. Goff, Millwood (New York), Kraus reprint, 1973.

GW = *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, voll. I-XI, Leipzig, K.W. Hiersemann, 1925-.

GW on line = *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/).

H = Ludwig F.T. Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum in quo libri omnes ab arte typographica inventa usque ad annum MD typis expressi ordine alphabetico vel simpliciter enumerantur vel adcuratius recensentur*, 4 voll, Stuttgartiae-Lutetiae Parisiorum, J.G. Cotta, 1826-38 (Berlin, J. Altmann, 1925).

IGI = *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia*, 6 voll., Roma, Istituto poligrafico dello Stato-Libreria dello Stato, 1943-1981.

ISTC = *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc).

MEI = *Material Evidence in Incunabula* (http://data.cerl.org/mei/).

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Sander = Max Sander, *Le livre à figures italien depuis 1467 jusqu'à 1530*, 6 voll., Milan, U. Hoepli, 1942-43 (= Nendeln, Kraus Reprint, 1969).

STC Fr. = *Short-Title Catalogue of books printed in France and of French books printed in other countries from 1470 to 1600 now in the British Museum*, London, Trustees of the British Museum, 1966 (*Supplement*, London, The British Library, 1986).

STC Germ. = *Short-Title catalogue of books printed in the German-speaking countries and German books printed in other countries from 1455 to 1600 now in the British Museum*, London, Trustees of the British Museum, 1962 (*Supplement*, London, The British Library, 1990).

STC In. = *A Short-Title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English books printed abroad, 1475-1640*, first compiled by A.W. Pollard & G.R. Redgrave, 2. ed. rev. & enlarged begun by W.A. Jackson & F.S. Ferguson, completed by Katharine F. Pentzer, London, The Bibliographical Society, 1976-1991.

STC It. = *Short-Title Catalogue of books printed in Italy and of Italian books printed in other countries from 1465 to 1600 now in the British Museum*, London, Trustees of the British Museum, 1958 (*Supplement*, London, The British Library, 1988).

STC Neth. = *Short-Title Catalogue of books printed in the Netherlands and Belgium and of Dutch and Flemish Books printed in other countries from 1470 to 1600 now in the British Museum*, London, Trustees of the British Museum, 1965.

STC Sp. = *Catalogue of books printed in Spain and of other Spanish books printed elsewhere in Europe before 1601 now in the British Library*, 2nd edition, ed. Dennis E. Rhodes, London, British Library, 1989.

USTC = *Universal Short Title Catalogue* (http://www.ustc.ac.uk).

VD16 = *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, Hiersemann, 1983-1995.

VD16 on line = *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* (http://www.vd16.de/).

VD17 on line = *Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts* (http://www.vd17.de/).

Gloria Moorman*

Atlases Fit for a Future King: Vittorio Amadeo II, Master-Colourist Dirk Jansz. van Santen, and the Splendour of the *Theatrum Sabaudiae* (1682)**

Some of the most spectacularly personalized, early modern atlases reveal a sense of continuity in the ties that conspicuously link publisher to purchaser. These are visible in material features – ranging from bespoke bindings to artistically enhanced imagery – that remained adjustable well after the incunable era. By modifying the appearance of a printed book in accordance with the taste and interests of its owner, multiple messages were transmitted on paper: in addition to the prowess of its publisher, the power and prestige of the work's patron could equally be communicated by means of materiality. On the whole, purposely-compiled collectors' atlases thus point to the relevance of investigating individual copies of otherwise (seemingly) standardized editions of early printed publications.[1]

During the seventeenth century, possessing and consulting an atlas allowed the individual owner to enter a wider realm of collective debate in which socio-cultural values and knowledge were exchanged both in person and in print. As this essay aims to elucidate, to the sovereigns whose territories were portrayed, this process was of additional, strategic significance: by signaling established or newly emerging borders, and by

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[1] See, for instance, Bettina Wagner, *Introduction*, in *Early Printed Books as Material Objects*, edited by Bettina Wagner and Marcia Reed, Berlin, De Gruyter, 2010, pp. 1-6; Mirjam Foot, *Bookbindings Research: Pitfalls, Possibilities and Needs*, in *Eloquent Witnesses. Bookbindings and their History*, edited by Miriam Foot, London, Bibliographical Society, 2004, pp. 13-29.

portraying cities and the state from a favourable perspective, the book became a powerful tool to assert – and project – political power. The presentation copy of the *Theatrum Sabaudiae* (Amsterdam, Blaeu, 1682), still preserved at the Biblioteca Reale in Turin (Rari IV 3/1-2; hereafter 'Savoy Atlas'), that was prepared for the Savoy Court by Amsterdam printer-publisher Joan Blaeu (1598/99-1673) and his sons Joan II (1650-1712), Pieter (1637-1706), and Willem (1635-after 1700) will serve as a case in point illustrating the symbolic value of the early modern atlas and its persistent prominence in the connected histories of book collecting, library building, and state formation.

To the work's first owner, Vittorio Amadeo II (1666-1732; Duke of Savoy from 1675 to 1730, King of Sicily between 1713-1720, and King of Sardinia from 1720 onwards), the contents and artful colouring that run through the volumes of the Savoy Atlas were essential to conveying both his identity as sovereign and the increasing prestige of his court. During Vittorio Amadeo's reign, the international position of the Savoyard State changed considerably, as it turned from French satellite into one of Europe's main theatres of war following Savoyard participation in conflicts such as the Nine Years War (1688-97) and Vittorio Amadeo's decision, in the summer of 1690, to join the Grand Alliance that was raised against Louis XIV through ties with, amongst others, England and the Dutch Republic.[2] The practices of Savoy book collecting may be viewed as reflecting – and potentially supporting – such political entanglements: the fact that the Savoy library, to which only a fortunate few were granted access, was especially renowned for its manuscript and printed military treatises underlines the political significance the book collection had acquired early on.[3] By commissioning the binding and colouring of Vittorio Amadeo's atlas to be executed by esteemed experts, then, the Blaeus in fact responded cleverly to the Savoy House's need to affirm bold territorial and socio-cultural claims through refined strategies of soft power. To this day, the work in two folio volumes immediately stands out for its lavish binding in red marocchino leather and decorations in gold leaf, identified in 1979 by Herman de la Fontaine-Verwey as the work of Amsterdam bookseller and expert binder Albertus Magnus (1642-1689).[4] Despite De la

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[2] Christopher Storrs, *War, Diplomacy and the Rise of Savoy, 1690-1720*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 1-2.

[3] On the political significance of the Savoy library, whose earliest inventory dates from 1435, see Martha Pollak, *Turin, 1564-1680: Urban Design, Military Culture and the Creation of the Absolutist Capital*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1991, p. 41. Illustrious visitors to the library included Christina of Sweden in 1656; see Sergio Mamino, *Reimagining the Grande Galleria of Carlo Emanuele I of Savoy*, «Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics», XXVII, 1995, pp. 70-88: 74-75. Also see *Le meraviglie del mondo. Le collezioni di Carlo Emanuele I di Savoia*, a cura di Anna Maria Bava ed Enrica Pagella, Genova, Sagep, 2016, pp. 117-171.

[4] Previously, Giuseppe Morazzoni in *La rilegatura piemontese nel '700. Note storiche*, Milano,

Fontaine-Verwey's attention to the works' outer appearance, the individual(s) behind the colouring of the printed sheets within the atlas had not previously been identified.

As becomes clear when leafing through the work, those responsible for adding the Savoy Atlas's final touches shared great skill and a refined eye for aesthetics. The colouring throughout the volumes is generally of a high standard, characterized by soft transitions between different hues and nuanced additional shading. Abundant details in both silver and gold were, moreover, added to the printed imagery in the atlas. Many of the depicted architectonical surfaces have received a sophisticated marbling treatment (Fig. 1).[5] Such aspects as discernible throughout the Savoy Atlas are characteristic of the work of Dirk Jansz. van Santen (1637/38-1708), the 'Master-Colourist' whose artistic merits were recognized by the Guild of Saint Luke.[6] Van Santen's particular treatment of stone structures, in addition to the *chiaroscuro* effect occasionally visible as a result of his consciously chosen colour schemes (Fig. 2), indicates a Baroque process of transformation that added depth to the overall composition of the printed page.[7]

Van Santen frequently operated in close connection to the the Blaeu publishing firm and its most illustrious clients, including the wealthy Amsterdam lawyer Laurens van der Hem (1621-1678).[8] In line with the or-

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Antiquariato Walter Toscanini, 1929, had interpreted the binding as Piedmontese. Herman de la Fontaine-Verwey, *De glorie van de Blaeu-atlas en de "Meester Afsetter"*, in Id., *Uit de wereld van het boek III: In en om de "Vergulde Sonneweyser"*, Amsterdam, Nico Israel, 1979, pp. 195-225: 199-201 and 203. See also Id., *The Binder Albertus Magnus and the Collectors of his Age*, «Quaerendo», I/3, 1971, pp. 158-178; Andreina Griseri, *Urbanistica, cartografia e antico regime nel Piemonte Sabaudo*, «Storia della città», XII-XIII, 1979, pp. 19-39: 27-28.

[5] See Phoebe Jane Easton, *Marbling: A History and a Bibliography*, Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1983, pp. 63-66.

[6] On Van Santen, see Truusje Goedings, *'Afsetters en meester-afsetters': De kunst van het kleuren, 1480-1720*, Amsterdam, Van Tilt, 2015; Ead., *Dirk Jansz. van Santen, 'meester-afsetter'*, «De Boekenwereld», XXXI/3, 2015, pp. 2-7; Ead., *Dirk Jansz. van Santen and the Colouring of the Atlas of Laurens van der Hem*, in *The Atlas Blaeu-Van der Hem of the Austrian National Library: The History of the Atlas and the Making of the Facsimile*, edited by Koert van Horst, Houten, Hes & De Graaf, 2011, pp. 101-154; Garrelt Verhoeven – Klaas van der Hoek, *Papieren pracht uit de Amsterdamse gouden eeuw*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2011, pp. 59-68; Kees Gnirrep – August den Hollander – Adri Offenberg, *De weergaloze Van Santen*, Amsterdam, Armorica Edities, 2000; Truusje Goedings, *Kaartkleurders en de technische aspecten van het kleuren in de zestiende en de zeventiende eeuw*, in *Kunst in kaart. Decoratieve aspecten van de cartografie*, edited by Cassandra Bosters *et al.*, Utrecht, Hes & De Graaf, 1989, pp. 95-130; Herman De la Fontaine-Verwey, *De glorie van de Blaeu-atlas*, in Id., *Uit de wereld van het boek III*, pp. 202-207.

[7] The colouring in the Savoy Atlas compares favourably to the treatment by Van Santen received by the copy of the *Theatrum Sabaudiae* currently preserved in Turin at the Archivio storico comunale (Collezione Simeom, serie N 1-2). The material features of its two volumes, including their binding, would merit more detailed analysis. Further study may equally include comparative analysis of the colouring in the Savoy Atlas and the Atlas Blaeu-Van der Hem, treated in the following sections.

[8] On Van der Hem's Atlas, see most notably Erlend de Groot – Peter van der Krogt, *The World of a Seventeenth-Century Collector: The Atlas Blaeu-Van der Hem*, Houten, Hes & De Graaf, 2006; *The Atlas Blaeu-Van der Hem of the Austrian National Library*, edited by K. van der Horst.

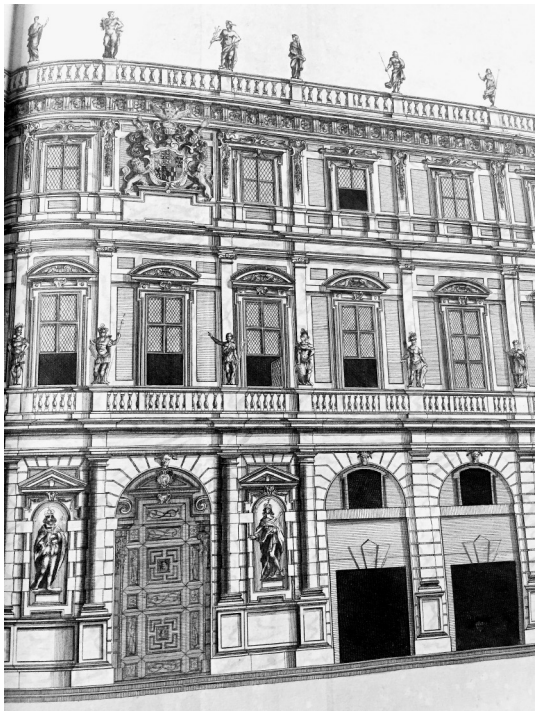

Fig. 1. Joan Blaeu, *Theatrum Sabaudiae*, I, Amsterdam, Blaeu, 1682. Detail of Palazzo di Città, Turin, as appearing in the Savoy Atlas, I (engraving by Giovanni Tomaso Borgonio), featuring bespoke colouring for the Savoy Court by Van Santen. Copy Torino, Biblioteca Reale, Rari IV 3/1-2. Reproduced with permission © Musei reali di Torino.

ders of this collector, all printed maps and decorative text elements that appear in the famed Atlas Blaeu – Van der Hem were hand-coloured by Van Santen, adding to the aesthetic quality and cultural significance of the work that has been included in UNESCO's Memory of the World Register since 2003.[9] Significantly, the atlas originally accumulated by Van der Hem was eventually incorporated into the book collections of ensuing generations of the Savoy dynasty, following its purchase by Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663-1736; a cousin of Vittorio Amadeo II) in November 1730; the work is currently preserved at the Austrian National Library in Vienna (389030-F KAR MAG). Van Santen's conscientious approach to the wealth of material brought together by Van der Hem was meant to achieve artistic monumentality: the colourist carefully alternated transparent and coating paints in subtly changing colour schemes, and he added small features of his own invention to the decorative elements printed by the Blaeus (including headings, initials, and vignettes) in the atlas.[10]

Yet not all colourists working for Joan Blaeu and his clients were of the stature of Van Santen: most often, books singled out for this kind of treatment were coloured by anonymous, low-earning craftsmen employed to colour a set number of books, intended for sale in the Blaeu shop or for regular customers, in strict accordance with pre-established models.[11] Generally, Blaeu offered such pre-coloured atlases in three distinct styles, of an increasingly elaborate nature; while even the simplest version was

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[9] E. de Groot – P. van der Krogt, *The Atlas Blaeu-Van der Hem*, p. 7; T. Goedings, *Dirk Jansz. van Santen and the Colouring of the Atlas of Laurens van der Hem*, pp. 112-113, 118-122 and 154.

[10] T. Goedings, *Dirk Jansz. van Santen and the Colouring of the Atlas of Laurens van der Hem*, pp. 121-122.

[11] H. De la Fontaine-Verwey, *De glorie van de Blaeu-atlas*, p. 195.

quite luxurious, the most lavish colouring was reserved for presentation copies or for the most important customers and commissioners.[12]

A further option for copies of this calibre was bespoke colouring as in the case of Van der Hem and that of the Savoy Atlas: arranged on an individual basis between Blaeu (acting as much in his capacity as bookseller as that of printer-publisher) and the colourist, its quality surpassed even that of the third pre-established style. It is in this context that the full potential of Van Santen's artistic abilities can be appreciated: as emerges from Truusje Goedings's pioneering work, Van Santen's use of colour was, generally, of a more independent, refined, and self-conscious nature than that of his colleagues.[13] Van Santen stands out particularly for his combinations of shades in line with (his interpretation of) the depicted subject matter and for his adjustment of the tone of his colouring to the gold leaf he added generously. The balanced usage of some of the most precious materials available between book and art market in this way turned the printed page into a painted masterpiece; within a courtly context, the result of Van Santen's work could quite conveniently be appropriated towards specific propagandistic purposes. Colouring in this sense seamlessly connects the spheres of production and possession, by raising not just the economic value, but also the artistic – and symbolic – significance of the book as a physical object. Worldly interests could thus leave a considerable imprint on the appearance of an

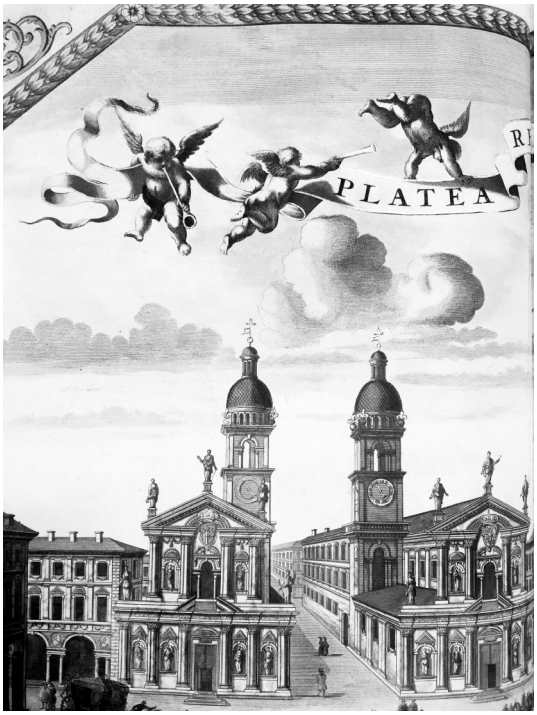

Fig. 2. Joan Blaeu, *Theatrum Sabaudiae*, I, Amsterdam, Blaeu, 1682. Detail of Piazza San Carlo, Turin, with its twin churches Santa Cristina and San Carlo Borromeo as appearing in the Savoy Atlas, I (engraving by Giovanni Tomaso Borgonio), featuring bespoke colouring for the Savoy Court by Van Santen. Copy Torino, Biblioteca Reale, Rari IV 3/1-2. Reproduced with permission © Musei reali di Torino.

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[12] T. Goedings, *De kunst van het kleuren*, p. 106; Ead., *Dirk Jansz. van Santen and the Colouring of the Atlas of Laurens van der Hem*, pp. 110-111.

[13] See especially T. Goedings, *Dirk Jansz. van Santen and the Colouring of the Atlas of Laurens van der Hem*, pp. 121-122; Ead., *Dirk Jansz. van Santen*, p. 4, and the bibliography provided in note 6.

individual atlas and enhance its encomiastic force, as epitomized by the strategic Savoy Atlas.

Overall, the publication of the *Theatrum Sabaudiae* in standardized copies meant for international audiences was equally informed by the Savoy court's political agenda.[14] The Savoy at the beginning of the eighteenth century (1713) turned their duchy into a kingdom by adding Sicily to the territories under Savoy control, thus gaining the crown and royal status seemingly foreshadowed on the pages of the *Theatrum Sabaudiae*.[15] The fate of Turin, whose portrayal forms the work's very core, illustrates these burgeoning aspirations. In 1557 Turin officially became capital to the growing Savoyard State following the transfer of the ducal residence and administrative offices from Chambéry. Additionally in 1578 Emanuele Filiberto I reinforced the city's religious identity by ceremoniously relocating there the Holy Shroud, the most precious of the Savoy rulers' Christian relics.[16] Later rulers Carlo Emanuele II (1634-1675; ruled from 1638), Maria Giovanna Battista of Savoy-Nemours (1644-1724; Regent of Savoy, 1675-1684), and Carlo Emanuele's heir Vittorio Amadeo II (who took up the position accompanying his ducal title in 1684) propagated the image of the new capital by their creative and financial support towards the publication of the grandest of the Blaeus' Italian town atlases, the more comprehensive *Theatrum Italiae* issued in ensuing instalments – with the publishers' efforts culminating in the Savoy Atlas – from 1663 onwards.[17] Showcasing Savoy splendour through spectacular imagery, the *Theatrum Sabaudiae* as issued in 1682 is, as summed up by Martha Pollak, «not a precise record of fact but an illustration of Turin enlarged, rationally ordered, and fully built up in all

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[14] For detailed accounts of the various stages of the *Theatrum Sabaudiae*'s publication history, see the documentary evidence presented in *Theatrum Sabaudiae (Teatro degli stati del Duca di Savoia)*, a cura di Luigi Firpo, 2 voll., Torino, Archivio Storico della Città di Torino, 1984-1985, and previously in *Théâtre des États de Son Altesse Royale le Duc de Savoye, Prince de Piémont Roy de Cipre*, a cura di Ferdinando Rondolino, Torino, Bottega d'Erasmo, 1964. For facsimiles of (part of) the contents of the *Theatrum Sabaudiae*, see *Le cento più belle vedute del Theatrum Pedemontii*, a cura di Marziano Bernardi e Ada Peyrot, Torino, Ruggero Aprile, 1970.

[15] C. Storrs, *War, Diplomacy and the Rise of Savoy*.

[16] M. Pollak, *Turin, 1564-1680*, p. 4; C. Storrs, *War, Diplomacy and the Rise of Savoy*, pp. 1-2. See also Paolo Cozzo, *Religious Dimensions of the Early Modern State in Savoy: Sacred Spaces, Court, and Politics in Turin in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, in *Languages of Power in Italy (1300-1600)*, edited by Daniel Bornstein, Laura Gaffuri, Brian Jeffrey Maxson, Turnhout, Brepols, 2017, pp. 201-214: 203; Alessandro Barbero, *Il Ducato di Savoia. Amministrazione e corte di uno stato franco-italiano, 1416-1536*, Roma, Laterza, 2002.

[17] M. Pollak, *Turin, 1564-1680*, p. 4. The number of maps and plates in the *Theatrum Sabaudiae*'s two volumes (134: 65 + 69) is almost equal to the total number of prints appearing in the *Theatrum Italiae*'s first three volumes as published in 1663 (146: 69 + 44 + 33). For these numbers, see Peter van der Krogt, *Koeman's Atlantes Neerlandici New Edition*, IV/1, *The Town Atlases, Braun & Hogenberg, Janssonius, Blaeu, De Wit/Mortier and Others*, Houten, Hes & De Graaf, 2010, pp. 368 and 445.

its parts – that is, looking like the ideal rather than the actual capital of the duchy.»[18]

During the second half of the seventeenth century, the physical appearance of Turin and its portrayal to the outside world were still subject to processes of (re)construction. Within the larger, geographical context of sojourns throughout Italy, the Savoy capital effectively formed a gateway to the peninsula along the land routes to and from France. In this period, Turin stood out to visitors because of its seeming modernity, resulting both from ongoing construction works, and – in part – from the city's rational, orthogonal grid of streets derived from ancient Roman origins.[19] Through Turin's uniform street plan, wandering travelers were led semi-intuitively to the centrally located Piazza San Carlo. Featuring regular rows of porticoes on all sides, this square was built to emulate the royal squares of Paris. More generally, its elegant architecture would have brought to mind the grand, urban spaces of capital cities all over Europe. The nearby Piazza Castello, home to all the governmental buildings of Savoy rule, including the Palazzo Reale, formed the centre of the court's political administration. On the whole, the urban design of Turin demonstrated the Savoys' determination to concentrate power in an area over which they exercised tight control, as a visual metaphor for the state's administrative rule.[20] The Savoy considered architecture and art – as potent outward manifestations of their political ambitions – essential to their diplomatic success on a European scale. The publication of the *Theatrum Sabaudiae* was instrumental in portraying and pursuing these ambitions on paper.

As a mirror on the Savoy dynasty and its territory encompassing the capital city and beyond, the *Theatrum*'s two volumes are dedicated respectively to the Principality of Piedmont (including Turin and its environs) and to the Duchy of Savoy and other domains on both sides of the Alps (including the Duchy of Aosta in the north, and the County of Nice in the south).[21] The draughtsman-engraver responsible for the views and plans that appear on the pages of the *Theatrum Sabaudiae* was Giovanni Tomaso Borgonio (*c.* 1620-1691), who interspersed the – partially idealized – imagery with a great sense of theatricality, resulting in part from the elaborate urban and architectural perspectives he prepared during the same period.[22] Further in keeping with the sovereigns' (assumed) prerogatives,

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[18] M. Pollak, *Turin, 1564-1680*, pp. 179 and 183-184.

[19] See recently Giuseppe Dardanello, *Varia experimenta. L'immaginario visivo per la configurazione della Torino moderna*, in *Sfida al barocco. Roma Torino Parigi 1680-1750*, a cura di Michela di Macco, Giuseppe Dardanello, Chiara Gauna, Genova, Sagep, 2020, pp. 33-48.

[20] M. Pollak, *Turin, 1564-1680*.

[21] The full titles for both volumes read: *Pars Prima, Exhibens Pedemontium, et in eo Augustam Taurinorum & Loca Viciniora*, and *Pars Altera, Illustrans Sabaudiam, et Cæteras Ditiones Cis & Transalpinas*.

[22] M. Pollak, *Turin, 1564-1680*, p. 180. On Borgonio see Luciano Tamburini, *Borgonio, Giovanni Tomaso*, in DBI, XII, 1970, pp. 784-785.

the first volume's frontispiece and title-page are followed by a portrait of Vittorio Amadeo II (official holder of the Ducal title when the *Theatrum Sabaudiae* finally came off the presses in 1682), the coat of arms of the House of Savoy, and the portrait of Carlo Emanuele II that, prepared as early as 1668, sometime later reached the Blaeus in Amsterdam. There the portrait would, as we will see, gain diplomatic significance as an auspicious augury for the work as a whole when its preparation turned out more challenging than had been anticipated.[23] After the *Theatrum Sabaudiae*'s solemn dedication to Maria Giovanna Battista (effective ruler during the nine-year interim that separated the reigns of Carlo Emanuele II and that of her son, Vittorio Amadeo II), the genealogical table of the House of Savoy, and the map of Piedmont inserted at the beginning of the atlas further attest to the Savoy's territorial aspirations and to their attempts at legitimizing these claims visually.

The map 'Pedemontium et reliquae ditiones Italiae regiae celsitudini Sabaudicae', executed by Borgonio in 1672 (Fig. 3), shows and supports Savoy ambitions. Its meticulous level of detail results from careful surveying operations throughout the area that had been initiated by Carlo Emanuele II. Between 1657 and 1658, he commissioned artists and artisans – including surveyors, writers, draughtsmen, and engravers – to start preparing textual descriptions and imagery depicting Turin and those parts of the surrounding area that were under Savoy rule.[24] The information that was thus assembled in response to the Blaeus' request for collaboration (1657), including both Borgonio's 'Pedemontium' and his 'Tabula generalis Sabaudiae' (1680), eventually made it to Amsterdam and came to the disposal of the publishers. In the *Theatrum Sabaudiae* (vol. II), Borgonio's purposefully designed 'Tabula generalis' was meant especially to replace an earlier map of the same territory that had been included in the 1662 edition of the Blaeus' *Atlas major*, but was now judged «poor and imperfect» by the Turinese court.[25] In Vittorio Amadeo II's personalized copy of the atlas, the conscious colouring of both maps is complemented by some of the cartographic symbols that appear on the strategically updated overview. As becomes clear upon close inspection of 'Pedemontium' (as coloured by Van Santen), the dots that point to smaller settlements and larger cities throughout Savoy territories are consciously rendered in gold leaf to underline the book owner's temporal power. On both sides of the

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[23] The copperplate for the portrait was amongst the relatively few commodities that fortuitously survived the fire at the Blaeu printing office in 1672. See below, and M. Pollak, *Turin, 1564-1680*, pp. 179-185.

[24] Ferdinando Rondolino, *Per la storia di un libro: Memorie e documenti*, in *Théâtre des États de Son Altesse Royale le Duc de Savoye*, a cura di F. Rondolino, pp. III-VIII: III.

[25] «Povera et imperfetta». Ada Peyrot, *Le immagini e gli artisti*, in *Theatrum Sabaudiae*, a cura di L. Firpo, I, 1984, pp. 19-61: 38.

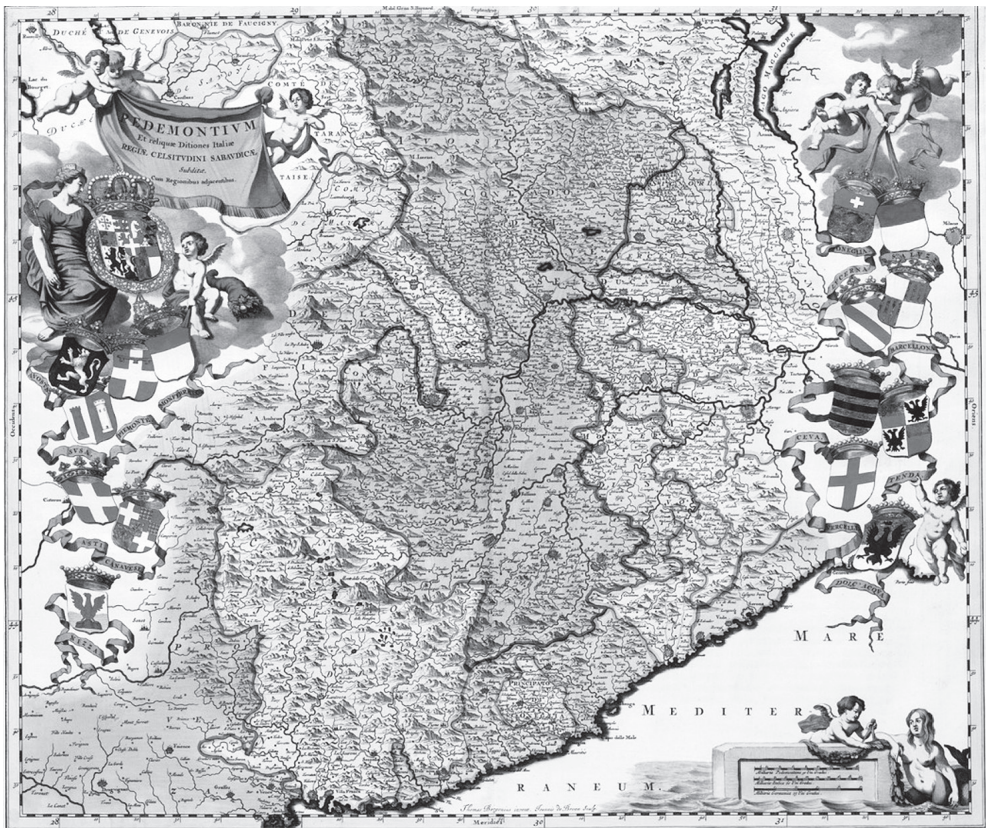

Fig. 3. Giovanni Tomaso Borgonio, *Pedemontium et reliquae ditiones Italiae regiae celsitudini Sabaudicae*, in Joan Blaeu, *Theatrum Sabaudiae*, I, Amsterdam, Blaeu, 1682. Copy Amsterdam, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Special Collections, 1808 A 24. © Beelddatabank Stedenatlassen, Digitaal Productiecentrum Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam.

map, furthermore, the coats of arms of the House of Savoy and of Vittorio Amadeo II were added by Borgonio in an explicit attempt to stress their influence over the depicted area.

Clearly the Savoy had high hopes for the portrayal of their (expanding) territories by the Blaeus as a means to affirm territorial power to audiences in and outside the Savoyard State: while they had received an official invitation by the Blaeus to contribute depictions of Turin, and possibly of other Piedmontese towns in 1657, in 1661 the Savoy themselves further extended the Blaeus' request to several towns within their domains.[26] The promise of wide publicity represented by the planned atlas emerges strongly from a report written in 1660, when negotiations had only just taken off between the Blaeus and representatives of the House of Savoy in Paris. In the view of the Savoy:

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[26] M. Pollak, *Turin, 1564-1680*, p. 181.

The Theatre of the most principal cities of Italy would be to the grand glory of the city [of Turin][27] if in it one would see her antiquity, shape, and singularity, especially because the said books will travel all over the world, and no eminent bookshop will be without them.[28]

Conversely, the Blaeus themselves attempted to use their connection to eminent courtly circles to their own benefit in the wake of the atrocious fire that in 1672 completely destroyed one of their printing offices and its copperplate workshop.[29] No doubt hoping to secure some sort of financial aid, Joan's son Pieter Blaeu reported the damages suffered in the catastrophe to contacts far and wide, including his correspondents in Italy.[30] These accounts, compiled originally to safeguard the firm's day-to-day survival, in hindsight provide highly valuable, contemporary perspectives on the Blaeu printing office at its peak, as the firm was never to regain its former splendour.[31]

Since the fire destroyed the great majority of the firm's business records kept in the Amsterdam office, the archival sources preserved in Italy

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[27] See P. Cozzo, *Religious Dimensions of the Early Modern State in Savoy*, p. 203; G. Dardanello, *Varia experimenta*, p. 33.

[28] «Il Signor Carcagni propone esser stato avisato da Pariggi che il signor Blau, matematico in Amstradamo in Olanda, doppo haver mandato alle stampe il Theatro delle Città principali delle Fiandre [...] ritrovarsi in procinto di dar fuori il Theatro delle città più principali d'Italia. Che perciò sarebbe gran gloria della città che in esso si vedesse l'antichità, forma e singolarità d'essa e massime perché li detti libri anderanno per tutto il mondo, né vi sarà libraria insigne nella quale essi non vi si ritrovano». Rosanna Roccia, *I documenti*, in *Theatrum Sabaudiae*, a cura di L. Firpo, II, 1985, pp. 83-138: 84-85.

[29] See Andrew Pettegree – Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World. Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2019, pp. 114-115; Djoeke van Netten, *Koopman in kennis. De uitgever Willem Jansz. Blaeu (1571-1638) in de geleerde wereld van zijn tijd*, Zutphen, Walburg Pers, 2014, p. 246.

[30] See the letter of Pieter Blaeu to Antonio Magliabechi of 4 March 1672: «Non devo né posso mancare d'indirizzare a V[ostra] S[ignoria] Ill[ustrissi]ma che sempre mi è stato amico e P[ad]rone tanto partiale, e tanto caro, e di palesarle l'incendio successo nella stamperia nuova di mio Padre alli 23 febbraio la mattina a 3 ore non si sa per che funesto accidente, la detta stamperia con la robba che vi era dentro in meno 3 ore totalm[en]te è stata rovinata ed abbrucciata, eccetuatene alcune piastre o sia rami, che pur hanno patito assaiss[i]mo, ma potranno esser ridotte nel pristino stato con industria e co'l tempo, non mi basta l'animo di dirle precisam[en]te quanto vi si è perso, onde mi contentarò di avvisarle solo che mio padre vi ha perso un thesoro, io pur ed il mio fratello Guglielmo, che vi eramo interessati habbiamo perso assai, vi sono consumati dal fuoco 10 torchi per li caratteri e 4 per le figure, poi moltiss[e]me piastre sono o liquefatti o rovinati, 30 o 40 mila libre di caratteri sono liquefatti, del che la maggior parte sta tra le rovine, e non può ritrovarsi, molti ponsoni, molte matrici (che servono per far li caratteri) molti instrumenti sono persi, e gran quantità di libri stampati, e di carta bianca, in somma la perdita è grande». *Pieter Blaeu: Lettere ai fiorentini Antonio Magliabechi, Leopoldo e Cosimo III de' Medici, e altri, 1660-1705*, a cura di Alfonso Mirto e Henk Th. van Veen, Amsterdam-Maarssen, APA, 1993, p. 209.

[31] On the damage caused by the fire, see Paul Dijstelberge, *De eeuw dat Amsterdam wereldboekenhoofdstad was*, «Jaarboek van het Genootschap van Bibliofielen», XVII, 2009, pp. 78-96; Henk Th. van Veen, *Pieter Blaeu and Antonio Magliabechi*, «Quaerendo», II, 1982, pp. 130-158: 154-157. Also see A. Pettegree and A. der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, p. 115.

in fact are of particular relevance in reconstructing, albeit fragmentarily, the scale and scope of the Blaeus' international activities.[32] On 15 March 1672, Duke Carlo Emanuele II (1634-1675) of Savoy was informed by his confidant Count Gaspare Francesco Carcagni, future mayor of Turin and a trusted ally of the Blaeus actively involved in the creation of the *Theatrum Sabaudiae*, about the losses that had occurred «in two days following the great fire in the new Printing Office of Mr Blaeu». In a report, as yet neglected in non-Italian scholarship, Carcagni writes:

Said printing office is a workshop whose premises take up at least one-and-a-half times the space of the building complex of the friars of San Carlo;[33] it employs approximately eight hundred people, because of the number of presses used for printing books in various languages, that is, in Latin, Greek, German, Italian, French and Spanish; and others for printing illustrations from plates. All things necessary were provided there. The fire started in the night following 2 [*sic*] February,[34] at three in the morning, and as soon as the fire was discovered, since it was surrounded by objects that were all inflammable, one could see it spread and ignite everything, so much so that in less than four hours one saw this large workshop reduced to ashes. Besides the workshop itself, the fire destroyed also a great quantity of orders [works printed, or yet to be printed, upon commission]; all the blank paper destined for the presses, in enormous quantities; everything that was [already] printed, both books and figures; countless originals, not only of books, but also of drawings; more than 30,000 pounds [of weight] in movable type [...]. An inestimable damage in plates, including, notably, the Atlases in twelve volumes of the *Geography*;[35] of the Cities of the Low Countries, the Papal State, and of the States of Your Royal Highness, of which the latter alone count about one hundred and thirty [plates]; all the plates of Spigelius's *Anatomy*[36] – all expensive and numerous

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[32] See Paul Hoftijzer, *Van alle markten thuis: Nederlandse boekhandel met het buitenland in de zeventiende eeuw*, in Jos A.A.M. Biemans – Paul Hoftijzer – Maarten van Steenbergen – Adriaan van der Weel, *Handel en wandel van het boek*, edited by Maaike Napolitano, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2014, pp. 13-20: 18; Cornelis Koeman – Günter Schilder – Peter van der Krogt – Marco van Egmond, *Commercial Cartography and Map Production in the Low Countries, 1500-ca. 1672*, in *The History of Cartography*, III, *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, edited by David Woodward, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2007, pp. 1296-1383: 1314-1315.

[33] Carcagni probably refers to a place quite close to the headquarters of Savoy rule in the period: the church and monastery of San Carlo Borromeo (founded by Carlo Emanuele I in 1619) on the centrally located Piazza San Carlo in Turin.

[34] The fire really took place during the night of 22-23 February 1672.

[35] Probably referring to the Blaeus' *Atlas major*, as published from 1662 onwards in standardized editions of nine (in Dutch and German), up to eleven (Latin), or twelve volumes (French). See Peter van der Krogt, *Koeman's Atlantes Neerlandici New Edition*, II, *The Folio Atlases Published by Willem Jansz. Blaeu and Joan Blaeu*, Houten, Hes & De Graaf, 2010.

[36] The Blaeus may have been planning to issue a reprint of Adriaan van den Spiegel's posthumous *De humani corporis fabrica libri decem* (Venice, 1627; USTC 4007250), which it seems they never published. Joan Blaeu had in 1645 published Van den Spiegel's *Opera quae extant omnia* (Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands, STCN, on line, record 088026361); see Letter 134 in *Lettere*

items; and many other copperplates of various maps and *mappamondi*, the majority of which are ruined.[37]

In a previously unpublished postscript to his letter, Carcagni on behalf of the Blaeus adds a comment intended to reassure the Duke of Savoy that the town atlas of Piedmont will – despite the damaging force of the flames – nonetheless be issued:

Only the portrait of Your Royal Highness has been spared undamaged, to the great astonishment of said Mr Blaeu, to whom, as he himself writes to me, it has been a great source of consolation in these dire circumstances; in a certain way one might say that [the portrait's] majesty may have altered the voracity of those flames [as they showed it] respect. [...] I am most certain that Your Royal Highness, having heard the first news of the fire with great pity and fearing that the work on Piedmont might have been ruined in those flames, will not take it amiss if I dare, with this perhaps too long-winded letter, to offer You reasons for renewed hope that the work on Piedmont will rise up again from these ashes in all its glory, like a new Phoenix as I wish [for the work].[38]

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ai fiorentini, a cura di A. Mirto e H. Th. van Veen, pp. 272-273, and Gerrit Arie Lindeboom, *Adriaan van den Spieghel (1578-1625): hoogleraar in de ontleed- en heelkunde te Padua*, Amsterdam, Rodophi, 1978.

[37] «La stamparia sudetta è una fabbrica che occupa di sito come una volta e mezza e più dell'isola de padri di San Carlo, et occupa circa ottocento persone, per la multiplicità de torchi destinati alla stampa de libri in varie lingue, cioè latina, greca, alemanda [*sic*], italiana, francese e spagnola, et altri all'impressione delle figure in rame. La provisione di tutte le cose necessarie tutta era ivi. Il fuoco se le appicciò la notte seguente delli due [*sic*] febraro, à hore tre doppo mezza notte, e apena scopertosi i [*sic*] fuogo, per ritrovarsi ivi cose tutte combustibili, tutto in un tempo si vidde scorrer et accender ogni cosa, in modo che in meno di quatr'hore tuatta [*sic*] quella gran fabica si vidde incenerita senza che si potesse salvar cosa alcuna. Ha consumato oltre la detta fabrica, et ordinni in gran quantità: tutta la carta bianca destinata per le stampe, in quantità immensa; tutto ciò che vi si è trovato stampato, e libri, e figure; infiniti originali non solo de libri, ma anche de dissegni; più di 30 mila libre, che colà sono d'oncie sedeci, di caratteri. Un danno inestimabile nelle piastre, cioè: di quelle delli Atlanti in dodeci volumi di Geografia; delle Città delli Paesi Bassi, dello Stato Ecclesiastico, e delli Stati di Sua Altezza Reale, che sono queste sole in numero di cento e trenta circa; tutte le piastre dell'Anatomia del Spigheli, cose pretiosissime e in gran numero; moltissimi altri rami di varie carte e mapamondi, de' quali la maggior parte è rovinata». Torino, Archivio di Stato, Sezione Corte, Lettere di particolari, C, m. 22, 15 March 1672. My translation of the report is based both on the original and its transcription provided in Rosanna Roccia, *I documenti*, in *Theatrum Sabaudiae*, a cura di L. Firpo, II, 1985, pp. 83-138: 111-112.

[38] «Il solo protratto [*sic*] dell'Altezza Sua Reale s'è conservato illeso, non senza grandissima ammiratione del medesimo signor Blaeu, il che, come mi scrive il medesimo, in quelle sue gravi afflittioni gli fu di grandissima consolatione, potendosi in un certo modo dire che la maestà d'esso habbi cangiata la voracità di quelle fiamme in riverenza. [...] Son certissimo che havendo l'Altezza Sua Reale sentita la prima nuova dell'incendio con somma tenereza e bontà, non senza dubio che l'opera del Piemonte fosse per patir naufragio in quelle fiamme, non haverà a male ch'io ardischi con questa mia forse troppo prolissa lettera, suggerirle mottivi di ravivate speranze che la medesima Opera del Piemonte, qual nuova Fenice sij per risorgere da queste ceneri gloriosa come le auguro». Postscript to Torino, Archivio di Stato, Sezione Corte, Lettere di particolari, C, m. 22, 15 March 1672.

Such strategies were, in effect, a fairly transparent attempt to retain the favour and financial support of a highly important patron. They did eventually yield financial support from the Savoy for the Amsterdam printer-publishers when they needed it most.[39] In 1672 the Blaeus were, nonetheless, still far removed from receiving the agreed reimbursements and payments for their ongoing work on the town atlases of Piedmont and Savoy. In 1681, the Blaeus – at long last – wrote a letter to Vittorio Amadeo II stating that forty-five copies of the *Theatrum Sabaudiae* had now been loaded onto the warships Saint Victor and Saint Jean Baptiste, ordered by the State of Savoy two years earlier and built in Amsterdam. Another five copies, including four featuring coloured imagery, were sent overland, via the Alps. Fifty of the precious books were thus well on their way to Turin.[40] A final financial agreement was reached only in 1692, thanks to the intervention and financial support of ambassadors, bankers, and lawyers. The Blaeus ended up demanding – and most likely receiving – payment only for the fifty copies of the *Theatrum Sabaudiae* that had been directly delivered to the court, including the costs of colouring and shipment.[41]

Some Conclusions

The location and rich holdings of Turin's Royal Library mirror the striking interplay between political interests and socio-cultural significance identifiable on the pages of the *Theatrum Sabaudiae*. Part of the Residences of the Royal House of Savoy that became a comprehensive, UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1997, to this day the library retains the close connection between (former) headquarters of power, court culture, and erudite collection established by subsequent generations of Savoy rulers. By taking pride of place amongst the imposing Savoy book collections ever since its arrival to Turin in the 1680s, Vittorio Amadeo's bespoke Blaeu atlas through its contents and materiality communicates the ongo-

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[39] That the Duke of Savoy provided the Blaeus with an unspecified sum of money after the fire is evidenced by the letter of 9 May 1675 to Magliabechi and Cosimo III de' Medici in Florence, published in H. Th. Van Veen, *Pieter Blaeu and Antonio Magliabechi*, p. 156: «Facciamo con molta prestezza intagliare li rami che hanno da servire per il libro che facciamo de' Stati del Signore Duca di Savoia, alla qual cosa siamo ben obbligati per haver esso Signor Duca poco doppo l'incendio sopranominato usato verso la casa nostra un atto di generosità straordinaria e degna d'un Principe sì grande, il che per hora lo dico in confidenza, ma al suo tempo non mancheremo di palesarlo al mondo nella prefatione che faremo al libro sudetto».

[40] See the bibliography on the *Theatrum Sabaudiae* in note 14; also see Lucia Nuti, *Ritratti di città. Visione e memoria tra Medioevo e Settecento*, Venezia, Marsilio, 1996, pp. 183-184, and Cornelis Koeman, *Atlas Cartography in the Low Countries in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries*, in *Images of the World: The Atlas through History*, edited by John Amadeus Wolter and Ronald E. Grim, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1996, pp. 93-102: 99.

[41] C. Koeman, *Atlas Cartography in the Low Countries*, p. 100.

ing socio-cultural legacy of the Savoy House. But the outstanding quality of the *Theatrum Sabaudiae* also underlines the agenda of its publishers: to the heirs of Joan Blaeu, the arduous task of seeing the work through to completion in fact provided a splendid opportunity to demonstrate their full potential to the international audiences the Savoy hoped the atlases would reach.

The Savoy Atlas's boastful beauty originally allowed Vittorio Amadeo II to enjoy the – partially imaginary – portrayal of his territories in line with burgeoning socio-cultural aspirations. The Blaeus cleverly united the agenda of their powerful patrons with aims of their own by using the materiality of the work to present a favourable image of the technical and artistic prowess of the Amsterdam publishing industry. They were thus able to stress the lasting supremacy of the Blaeu firm in the period following the fire of 1672. All in all, the publication history of the *Theatrum Sabaudiae*, characterized by the complications that caused the project's lengthy period of gestation, markedly illustrates the recently emphasized «robust resilience of the Dutch book trade»[42] during the second half of the seventeenth century.

As we have seen, the appeal of the early modern atlas to its owner could depend significantly on the interplay between standardized contents and adjustable appearance. Brought together within the confines of the bound book, personalized features allowed the book collector outwardly to present a favourable image of the self, while inspection of the works in the more intimate space of a library allowed each individual onlooker to (re)construct a conveniently coloured picture of the past, or imagine an auspiciously portrayed future. More than its mere documentary significance as a seemingly straightforward, historical representation of Turin and the Savoyard State, then, the *Theatrum Sabaudiae* ultimately projects, in the words of Luigi Firpo, «images of a dreamed-up reign».[43] As such, the works allow us to recover a sense of the regal aspirations that, towards the turn of the seventeenth century, were impatiently cultivated on paper at the Savoy Court.

ABSTRACT

Gli atlanti a stampa di epoca moderna, realizzati rigorosamente in linea con i gusti coevi, offrono a chi li considera retrospettivamente preziose indicazioni sugli interessi e le aspirazioni socio-culturali dei loro possessori precedenti. In tale spirito, il saggio presenta una nuova interpretazione della coloritura delle

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[42] A. Pettegree – A. der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, p. 391.

[43] Luigi Firpo, *Immagini di un regno sognato*, in *Theatrum Sabaudiae*, a cura di L. Firpo, I, 1984, pp. 9-18.

immagini della copia di presentazione del *Theatrum Sabaudiae* (Amsterdam, Blaeu, 1682; Torino, Biblioteca Reale, Rari IV 3/1-2) offerta dagli eredi di Joan Blaeu a Vittorio Amadeo II (1666-1732; Duca di Savoia dal 1675 al 1730, Re di Sicilia fra il 1713 e il 1720 e Re di Sardegna dal 1720). Attraverso l'analisi di aspetti stilistici, con particolare enfasi sull'importanza politica dell'eccezionale trattamento artistico per il duca che sogna la corona reale, si intende attribuire la coloritura dell'atlante al maestro-colorista olandese Dirk Jansz. van Santen. Nella cultura politica del tempo, al significato simbolico dell'atlante corrispondeva, infatti, un preciso valore materiale: commissionando sia la rilegatura che la coloritura della copia in questione a esperti di chiara fama, i Blaeu risposero efficacemente, dunque, al bisogno della dinastia Savoia di affermare le proprie pretese territoriali, accompagnate dal prestigio crescente della corte, grazie a sottili strategie finalizzate ad acquisire potere, che si rispecchiano anche nell'ambito del collezionismo librario.

Edoardo Barbieri, Direttore Responsabile

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9 maggio-30 giugno 2019, a cura di Pompeo Vagliani, Torino, Fondazione Tancredi di Barolo, 2019 e *Pop-App. Scienze, arte e gioco nella storia dei libri animati dalla carta alle app*, a cura di Gianfranco Crupi e Pompeo Vagliani, Torino, Fondazione Tancredi di Barolo, 2019 (Edoardo Barbieri), p. 583; *Nessuno poteva aprire il libro... Miscellanea di studi e testimonianze per i settant'anni di fr. Silvano Danieli, OSM*, a cura di Mauro Guerrini con la collaborazione della Pontificia Facoltà teologica "Marianum" e della rete bibliotecaria URBE, Firenze, Firenze University Press, 2019 (Luca Rivali), p. 585

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